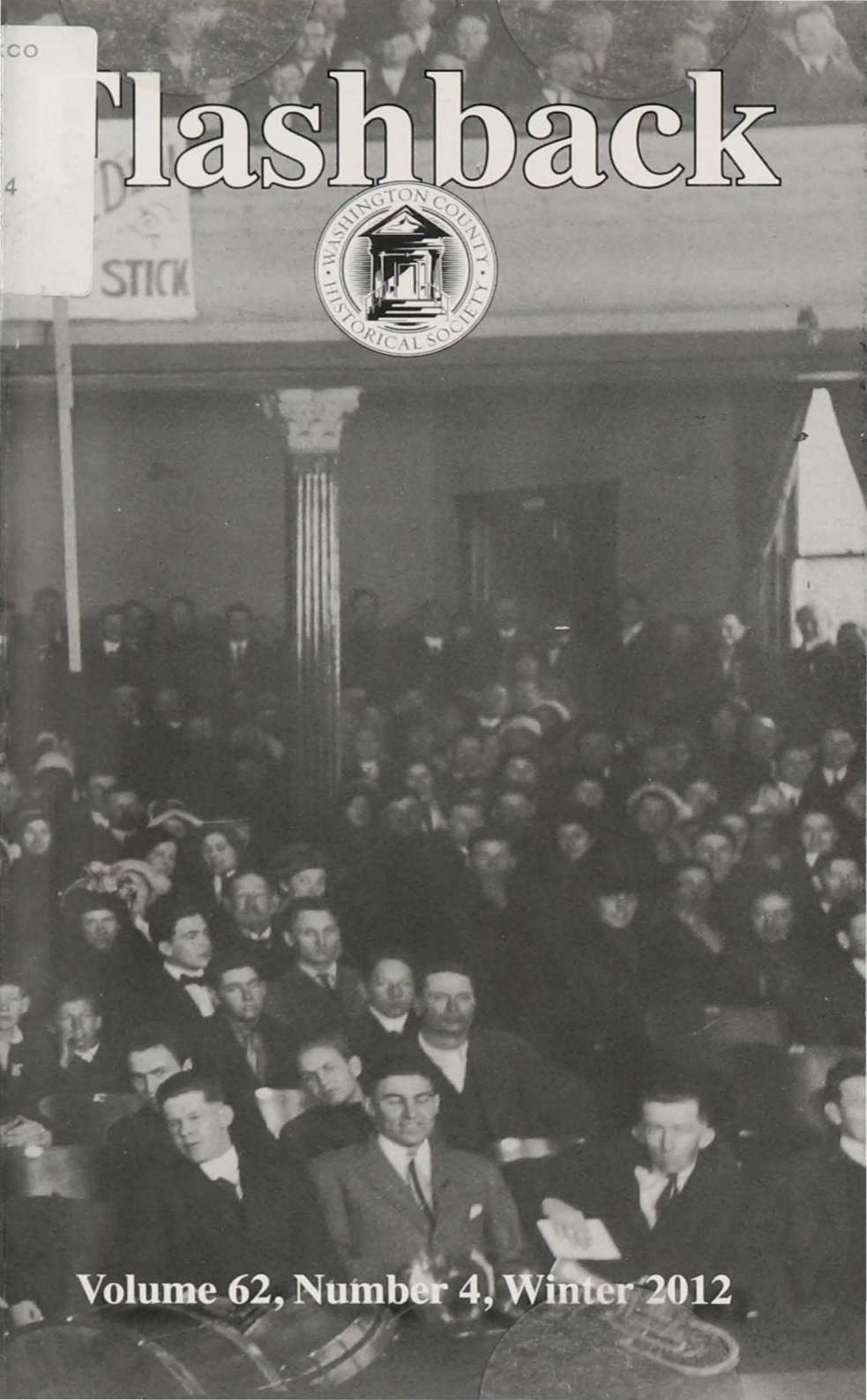
Flashback



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FLASHBACK

Journal of the Washington County Historical Society
Preserving the Past for the Future

Volume 62 Winter 2012 Number 4

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Courtesy of the University of Arkansas Special Collections

On the cover: University of Arkansas students gather at the Ozark Theater in 1912 during a strike against the university, known as the X-Ray Incident. An article about this Progressive-era incident begins on Page 147.

The X-Ray Incident

EDITOR'S NOTE: This article is the winner of the Walter J. Lemke Prize for best historical article submitted to the Flashback in 2012. It was written by Chris W. Branam while he was pursuing a Master of Arts degree in history at the University of Arkansas.

By Chris W. Branam

In 1912 a crowd of young men in suits and topcoats gathered on the front steps of University Hall (now known as Old Main) at the University of Arkansas at Fayetteville to protest the decision of the university faculty to expel three dozen of the most prominent students on campus. John N. Tillman, president of the state's flagship institution, looked down at the demonstration from the window of his second floor office. "Great times here," wrote student Lowell Moss, who took part in the event and immediately bought a picture postcard commemorating it.[1]

Lowell Moss

Indeed, it was a time of youthful empowerment at the university. Nearly all of the university's 700 students went on "strike" on Feb. 26, 1912, in response to the expulsion of their classmates who were involved in the distribution of an incendiary underground newspaper called *The X-Ray*. The strike lasted six days. The university's board of trustees settled the matter on March 2 when they reinstated the students. There has never been another protest of similar magnitude at the university. The events of that week — which became known collectively as "The X-Ray Incident" — were big news in such publications as the *Arkansas Gazette* and *The Fayetteville Democrat*,[2] but as time moved on the episode received less attention. The files of the Special Collections depart-

ment of the university's libraries contain just two articles published in the last 25 years about the protest, and the historians who did look at the event failed to connect The X-Ray Incident and the Progressive Era in the United States.[3] The evidence suggests that strands of the multifaceted and broad-based interest in Progressive reform steered the students to their showdown with the university faculty and administration.

In 1912, a small group of university students in Arkansas, discouraged that the official campus newspaper would not publish their criticisms of faculty and administration, produced a four-page paper that included harsh commentaries on issues ranging from student discipline to the university's spending on athletics. Calling themselves "Iconoclasts," the students wrote the articles anonymously and mailed copies of *The X-Ray* around the state, including to elected officials and university trustees. One passage in *The X-Ray* makes clear that the student writers were Progressives: "A Conservative is a man who is too cowardly to go forward ... [h]e is a man who never had but one Progressive idea and it gave him such a dizzy headache that he carries morphine tablets around in his pocket to eat when he feels himself about to be attacked by another similar idea."[4]

Guy Wolf

"This paper has as its aim the tearing down of the old and flagrant abuse at this institution and to help her enter upon a new era." So spoke the editors of *The X-Ray*. The "Paper Without a Muzzle" also featured a motto: "Turn on the light."[5] Who were the original Iconoclasts? The university faculty expelled 36 students on the Monday following the February 24, 1912, publication of *The X-Ray*, but the idea started with a much smaller group. In the second issue of the semester, published on March 27, Guy Wolf identified himself as the editor of *The X-Ray*. The paper also named two other students who hatched the basic elements of the paper: Sam Wood and Allen Gates. An unnamed

THE X-RAY

VOL. 1. UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS, FAYETTEVILLE, FEBRUARY 24, 1912. NO. 1.

- THE PAPER WITHOUT A MUZZLE -

AS IT IS BETWEEN PROF. AND STUDENT

The idea seems to obtain among certain of our respected "highbrows" that the summum bonum of the teaching profession consists in pounding daily into the students' ears the second-hand plunder of "higher learning," forgetting altogether, it seems, the decidedly human quality of the victim. The "Prof", as an evidence of his awful dignity, elects to pass the student upon the street, bestowing upon him about such cordial recognition as one might expect to receive from an Indian cigar sign.

A Prof was seen walking down the street the other day, and within one block he encountered as many as a dozen students; but our salaried thinker turned his head neither to the left nor to the right to greet a single one. This illustrates the attitude of many of our professors ward the students. The idea seems to be, to have as little as possible to do with the student outside the lecture room, even going to the extreme of refusing to recognize him upon the street. But this is strictly a personal matter, and need not be complained of. However, it is noteworthy that the highest good done in the teaching profession is achieved by those men who come in contact with the candidates under their tuition. Certainly not the "pensioned stiff" who sits behind a walnut-stained desk and emits dry information to be written down in notebooks. This very simple operation may be done quite as acceptably by a phonograph.

The picture of a forlorn-looking student hanging about the doors of a lecture room with one of these about-to-be-executed expressions on his face speaks eloquently of the terrible recitation hour which threatens to ensue. He knows what awaits him in that "Valley of Dry Bones," and shudders visibly as the thought attacks his senses. He knows he will hear a slow incantation issuing feebly from a face buried deep between the covers of some old dusty tome, and the sole bright ray that pierces his gloom is the thought that perchance he may amuse himself the while drawing curious pictures in his notebook, while the slow succession of monotonous sounds beats hopelessly on his senses. Haply, he may be fortunate enough to fix his attention on some object seen through the window, and draw in one moment from Nature far deeper lessons than he will ever derive from that slow lecture which fills the room with its drowsy tone. In either case, his mind is with his heart, and his heart is on the clock.

The chief compliment we can pay to some of our respected mentors, risbout crossing our fingers, is that they know their subjects. But what does this prove? Is not the highest good in teaching accomplished by being able to TEACH and INSPIRE, and not by merely KNOWING? Digests and encyclopedias may play the part of yielding information. Therefore it is with confidence that we make the statement, that as real teachers and inspirers of men and women, we have some of the finest NEGATIVE specimens in captivity. Instead of being able to unfold a subject and make it vitally interesting, they seem to have an ingrained knack of making it repulsive and impregnable. Their efforts to educate result merely in making education distasteful and hard to digest.

On the other hand, if the head of the Department of Economics should offer a course in dressmaking, practically every boy in the University would clamor to have his name enrolled for the course. It is also noteworthy that the numbers of students who attend the courses in Economics look like a crowd at a moving picture show. THERE'S A REASON. It is not because of that other TIRESOME idea—easy snap—popular among the LOCAL enemies of Economics education, but because the student desires to come into close personal contact with a noble heart and a great mind. It is not the vagrant bits of knowledge gleaned here and there that make college life worth the candle. In the writer's humble opinion, the greatest good that can be derived from a college course comes directly out of the heart and life of the teacher. He should be able to INSPIRE, to present the truth red-hot from the forge of thought, and to let into the heart and life of the student an influx of light, of feeling, and of knowledge. Small wonder that the student looks forward with chilling dread to the spiritless routine in the lecture room and exults in his freedom when the reign of terror is ended. Personality in the Professor is the leaven which makes all this daily grueling tolerable. If he cannot mix a little humor and HUMANNESS with his product, TAKE HIM AWAY!!! From our point of view he is a fool to deserve to be given away with the mummies!! He may have spent years in developing a high-horse-power thinking machine, and scholarship medals may hang to him in clusters, but unless he can kindle the SPIRIT of a man, DRAG HIM OUT!!! He may confound the simple with his weighty aphorisms and utter words of learned length and thundering sound, but unless he can touch

Where Consistency is a Bed-Bug.

There is a Committee of three men in this institution whose hands hold plenary powers over the life, death, and future destiny of each and every student in the University. And the purpose of this article is a brief discussion of the methods and practices of this Committee, the evidence being all first hand, and easily obtainable by anyone who wishes to read as he runs.

This august body gets in its first work at the opening of the University, when every new and old man and woman comes before them for assignment to their work. It is then that the hanger-on come to the inevitable conclusion that it is not your intellectual ability nor the size of your hat that counts, but it is the color of your hair, the size of the muscle of your arm and the length of the turn-up on your trousers that aid you most in getting what work you want.

First comes in a little, shrinking Freshman from Podunkville High School, who has on a suit of hand-me-downs and has not shined his shoes since he left home. He presents credentials that show him to have been a most excellent student; his papers show that his average for the four years in High School was well above 90 per cent. He asks for Economics 1, and says that he wants to study law. Then he is looked at with suspicion and well-assumed surprise. He is told that the Committee has never given Economics 1 to Freshmen; that it is one of the hardest courses in the University; that he is a fool to think of becoming a lawyer, but had better make an engineer or prepare to teach English in some second-rate college instead; he is advised that there are two "cinch" courses offered to all Freshmen who desire to take Economics 1, and that he may have his choice of either Math. 1a or Geology 1, which are both far easier than Economics 1, and he told a, the Economics Department is too popular already and if many more students take these courses in order to get work to the most gentlemanly and considerate Professor on the Faculty some of the other departments will have to get rid of part of their members, and more men will have to be hired to take care of th Economics students. So this poor, deluded Freshman is given English 1, Math. 1a, Geology 1, History 2, Latin 1 and 1a, and advised to get to work at once or he is likely to be canned in February for flunking some of these "cinch" courses palmed off on him in lieu of those things he wanted because he knew what he wanted at the time he wanted it, but he was given to understand that he did not want what he wanted and that he was foolish to think he did.

Now, in comes student number two. He is a man who came from the Sophemore class of some good High School in the state and desires to class special in order to avail himself of the excellent opportunities this Institution affords to those inclined toward Society. He wants Economics 1, Agri 1, and English 1. After a few preliminary skirmishes he tells the Committee that he is here after that particular work and that he intends to have it, come what may. Being questioned by the Committee as to who his father is, he says "Why, he is the president of The See-Saw Lumber Company;" he is then told that since he seems to be a young man of exceptional ability, he may have what work he wants.

In comes man number three. This man has been here three years, and has been doing outside work part of the time, such as debating, working, etc., and he now needs nineteen hours to graduate with his class in June. The Committee says "Inasmuch as we have made a new rule, an ex post facto rule, that prohibits any man from taking more than eighteen hours' work, we have decided not to let you graduate this year." The man bows to fate and goes out with tears in his eyes and despair at his heart, wondering what his people will think when he writes them of it.

The next man, number four, is in the same predicament as was the last one. He took an intercollegiate debate last year, and now needs nineteen hours to graduate. After the usual bluffs being made and called, he is given the required amount of work, with the admonition not to mention it to every man he meets, lastly, if not in so many words. The rule is suspended in the last case, and not in the first.

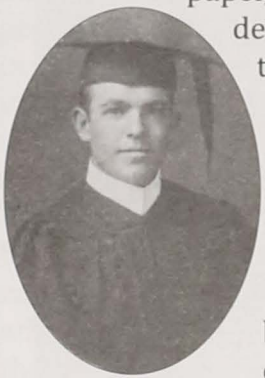
Now, after a few months, the Committee meets in executive session. One man, the son of a widow in the interior of the state, cut two classes the day before Xmas to go home a day early. He had two reports before him, and by giving him four reports for each class he cut the day before Xmas, they manage to pile up ten reports against him. He is summarily kicked out of the Institution. The second man has been here two years trying to pass enough work to class Freshman. It is posted on the bulletin board that he has thirty-nine unexcused reports. He is looked over carefully, admonished to go his way in peace, but to try to do better than four Ps and one F on his next month's grade, and smiled out of the chamber of horrors. The

the student at his points of need. GIVE HIM THE HOOK!!! All of which reminds us that scholarship is a splendid jewel, but it has SOME very incongruous settings.

Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries

The X-Ray, the Paper without a Muzzle, February 24, 1912.

writer in the March 27 issue explained that *The X-Ray* took shape when one of the three above students complained that the *University Weekly*, the authorized university student newspaper, "never spoke of the grievances of the students and did not go into certain matters which they deemed wise to investigate."[6] Soon Wolf, Wood and Gates met with other interested students and they formed a committee and framed a constitution.



Sam Wood

Wolf developed a reputation on campus for being intense and argumentative. He carried "a reserve supply of thunderbolts ready to be turned loose at the slightest provocation."[7] Gates, a senior from Little Rock and the son of David Allen Gates, a state tax commissioner, participated in the Periclean Literary Society, one of the university's two debate clubs. The university expelled both of them. Sam Wood of Fort Smith didn't appear among the names of those expelled that were published that week in the *Gazette* and the *Daily Press* of Paragould, Arkansas. But Sam Wood Jr., of Portland, Oregon, asserts that his father was one of the 36.[8] The faculty also expelled Roy G. Wood, Sam's brother. Sam Wood Jr. recalls his father and uncle would sometimes reminisce over The X-Ray Incident. The brothers described *The X-Ray* as a "rebellion against the faculty."[9]

Allen Gates

University President John N. Tillman told the *Gazette*, "All the students expelled are members of prominent families."[10] True, several of the Iconoclasts were sons of some of the best-known Arkansans. Carroll Wood of Little Rock, an associate justice of the Arkansas Supreme Court, counted his son, Roy, among those expelled. So did Edgar B. Kinsworthy of Little Rock, a former state attorney general. The university also expelled the son of

Epps Brown of Des Arc, a state tax commissioner.

Even if Tillman identified the Iconoclasts as sons of "prominent" Arkansans, that didn't mean they were members of the wealthy ruling elite whom Progressives disliked. Two examples of prominent students clearly influenced by the Progressive movement were Burton S. Kinsworthy and Tarleton T. "Toddy" Cotnam.

Roy G. Wood

Kinsworthy's mother, the former Isabella Sutton of Fayetteville, attended the University of Arkansas and the Ward Seminary for Young Ladies in Nashville, Tennessee. She married Edgar B. Kinsworthy, who earned a law degree from Cumberland University in Lebanon, Tennessee. Isabella Kinsworthy participated in a number of civic activities associated with the Progressive Era. She organized the Professional Women's Club of Little Rock and also the Little Rock Young Women's Christian Association. She also served as treasurer of the Little Rock Orphan's Home.[11]

Burton S. Kinsworthy

Florence Brown Cotnam is considered one of the leaders of the Arkansas suffrage movement in the early 20th Century. Educated in private preparatory schools and the Charnwood Institute in Tyler, Texas, Cotnam lectured in government, politics, current events and history. Her civic activities were numerous: the Little Rock Esthetic Club, the International Suffrage Alliance, the Little Rock Business and Professional Women's Club, the National League of American Pen Women (a union of Progressive women writers who urged equal rights for the sexes) and the Daughters of the Confederacy. In 1920, Cotnam traveled to the Democratic Party gathering in San Francisco to become the first Arkansas woman to serve as a delegate to a national political convention.[12]

Courtesy of S

The Iconoclasts, in their zeal to improve the university by bringing what they perceived as corrupt system to light, were also likely affected by the Progressive program of education reform in Arkansas from 1900 to 1920. The first school improvement association formed in Little Rock in 1905.[13] By 1911, the Arkansas school improvement associations counted over 10,000 members in 255 communities.[14] No doubt the majority of the Iconoclasts saw efforts in their local communities to improve the statuses of their school systems. They probably watched their parents take part in improvement association meetings.

ons, University of Arkansas Libraries (MC 761)

The band and parade of striking students paused for a moment along Dickson Street at its intersection with Gregg Avenue to allow two women to pass along the sidewalk. Among the complaints of the student body toward the city of Fayetteville was a protest against the "nastiest, muddiest, filthiest, dirtiest and most ill-kept streets in the country."

On this particular day, the mud of Dickson Street was perhaps their best argument.

Beyond the line of students can be seen the spire of the early 19th century Fayetteville railroad depot, the location where the students met Gov. George W. Donaghey, who came by train from Little Rock to Fayetteville to sort out the differences between the students and their professors and administrators.

If the state's public schools were becoming more effective and efficient, why shouldn't the state's flagship university?

There are several examples of Progressive thought among the Iconoclasts in the university yearbooks in 1912 and 1913. Joe Joiner, a senior from Magnolia, "is a natural champion of the people and the sworn enemy of the 'graft' and 'predatory wealth.' Spends the summer making Fourth of July speeches and

Joseph Joiner

Students on strike at the University of Arkansas in February 1912.

Farmers' Union lectures."[15] It seems Joiner enjoyed Progressive and Populist notions. Oscar M. Corbell, a senior from Charleston, described himself as a socialist.[16] J.G. "Tige" Armitage, a senior from Harrison, was the "class knocker." "If anything has gone wrong it is Tige's duty to knock on somebody for not setting it right. He knocks where knocking is needed regardless of class, position, 'race, color or previous condition of servitude.'"[17] Spence Buckley, a junior from Rogers, chose as his 1913 yearbook quote: "Equal rights to all and special privileges to none."[18]

The 1912 yearbook included a section of humorous happenings and musings from the 1911-12 school year. Included is

Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries (Picture Collection - 3678-)

Oscar M. Corbell

J. Gordon Armitage

Spence S. Buckley

this anecdote involving one of the Iconoclasts, W.T. Clint Young: "Prof. Thomas, in History III examination, asked who wrote the Declaration of Independence, and to give the first three lines. Dr. Young started out by saying: "It was written by Theodore Roosevelt, and the first three lines are follows: "We, the people of the United States in order to form a more perfect union in the care of human events, to establish justice, provide for the poor, etc."[19]

W.T. Clint Young

Perhaps influenced by the Progressive muckrakers, the Iconoclasts wanted a college newspaper with more bite. The front page of the *University Weekly* in 1912 typically included "soft" stories, such as Razorback sports recaps and club and society sign-ups. Lilbourn Hays Meriwether, the editor of the paper, revealed to his father at the outset of the student strike that the Iconoclasts approached him earlier in the year with suggestions of investigations into the administration. "I stayed out of this for a long time," Meriwether wrote. "I have known about the paper for a long time but I refused to help publish it because I didn't want to be personally responsible for what they might publish."[20]

Lilbourn Meriweather

If the anonymous claims made in *The X-Ray* had appeared in the *Weekly*, Meriwether would have been summarily expelled. Even though he refused to print the accusations, Meriwether agreed with them. He wrote, "[S]ince I believe that the paper told the truth and this old University is as full of graft and crookedness as it can be I agreed to stand by the student body and hold out for the 36 to be reinstated."[21] Meriwether accused the faculty of being overly defensive and harsh in its punishment of the Iconoclasts: "If it's a case of the hit dog yelping that faculty sure was hit because they yelped if I ever heard a yelp."[22]

The university faculty and administration knew of the plans of the underground paper. The institution's leaders warned that if *The X-Ray* were to be distributed to the student body on Monday, all students involved would be immediately expelled. It was, and they were. In response, students held a meeting Monday night and decided to protest the expulsions by not attending class. The students thought of themselves as workers and the administrators as their bosses. Meriwether referred in his letter to the "fired" students.[23] In the 1912 yearbook under an "Events" heading, the staff wrote: "February 6: Students are now called to classes by the shop whistle."[24]

In keeping with the Progressive ideal of women's suffrage, the university's female students were encouraged to participate in the strike. According to the *Gazette*, "the girl students were urged to join, and most of them have done so."[25] The young women played important roles in gatherings on the Old Main lawn, a 500-student parade down Dickson Street and on to the Fayetteville Square, and a rally in the Ozark Theatre.[26]

According to newspaper accounts, local merchants supported the students by hanging green banners in their shop windows. (Soon J.F. Moore's of Fayetteville advertised in the University Weekly its sales of *X-Ray* posters, "Designed for U. of A. Students.")[27] The students also marched to faculty members' homes, according to student Ruth Simpson. The *Daily Press* of Paragould in northeast Arkansas reprinted her message as an article. "Every person in Fayetteville seems to be with us," wrote Simpson. "We marched up town to every Prof's house, led by the Fayetteville and the University bands. There were Arkansas pennants hanging from every place and nearly every house."[28]

Several faculty members and instructors supported the students, according to Simpson. "In fact two were in the parade and wore the colors," she wrote. "Dr. Brough ... Lentz and Bezdek are with the students."[29] The Prussian-born Max Lentz, a professor of Germanic languages at the university, came to United States in 1882 and settled in north-central Texas. He worked as an architect for some time before entering the field of education, and he

taught at such schools as the Oak Cliff College for Young Ladies in Dallas and Paterson Academy in Paterson, New Jersey, which he founded in 1901.[30] Hugo Bezdek, born in Prague, graduated from the University of Chicago in 1905. The university hired him as director of athletics in 1908, and he coached the football and baseball teams.[31] His utterance of the word "Razorbacks" when he described his football team in 1909 popularized the term and led the university to change its mascot from the Cardinal to the Razorback.

The support of figures such as Lentz and Bezdek led credibility to the student strike. But the most important endorsement came from Charles Hillman Brough. Born in Clinton, Mississippi, his father worked in banks and his mother headed the Central Female Institute, the oldest private female seminary in Mississippi.[32] Brough held an undergraduate degree from Mississippi College, a law degree from the University of Mississippi and a Ph.D. in economics, history and jurisprudence from Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. He came to the University of Arkansas in 1903, where his economics and sociology courses drew hundreds of students each year.

The X-Ray criticized most of the faculty and administrators, (although none of them by name) but it lavished praise on Brough. "[I]f the head of the Department of Economics should offer a course in dressmaking, practically every boy in the University would clamor to have his name enrolled for the course," the Iconoclasts wrote. "It is also noteworthy that the numbers of students who attend the courses in Economics look like a crowd at a moving picture show. THERE'S A REASON ... the student desires to come into close contact with a noble heart and a great mind."[33] In 1913, students dedicated the university yearbook to Brough, whom they called "a friend of every student of the university."[34]

Brough, a die-hard Progressive and a Democrat, organized the first University Woodrow Wilson Club in the United States in 1911.[35] Arkansas voters elected Brough governor in 1916. A devout Baptist, he supported women's suffrage and prohibition,

Courtesy of the Razorback Yearbook

Charles Hillman Brough, an economics professor at the University of Arkansas, was a well respected figure on campus and a leader of the Progressive movement in Arkansas. The writers of the *X-Ray* described him as having a "noble heart and great mind."

The student strikers during a rally inside the Ozark Theatre.

another hallmark Progressive goal. "With the election of Charles Hillman Brough, the Progressive reform sentiment in Arkansas reached its climax," concluded one scholar of Progressivism in Arkansas.[36] At least fourteen of the expelled Iconoclasts listed their major as economics. So the evidence is persuasive that the fingerprints of the Progressive leanings of Brough — and the professor's support of the student strike — are seen in *The X-Ray*.

The strike continued to Friday. In response, Gov. George W. Donaghey, who served as chairman of the university's board of trustees, called a special meeting for Saturday, March 2. The

Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries (Picture Collection - 3678-3)

board decided to reinstate the expelled students when it determined unjustified and oppressive the 1905 university rule penalizing unauthorized student publications with expulsion. The students went back to class on Monday.[37] At the end of the semester, Tillman announced his retirement. He ran for Congress and voters elected him to represent the 3rd District covering Northwest Arkansas. John Futrall eventually replaced Tillman and served as university president until 1939.

In 1918, a small group of students revived *The X-Ray*, but with disastrous results. This incarnation of the paper accused Futrall of "being tyrannical, and his administration was declared

The Iconoclasts and their student supporters gather to hear a speech on the

to be unsatisfactory."[38] Trustees in March 1919 voted to expel three students and suspend others behind the paper, and they called for the resignation of one faculty member who encouraged the publication.[39]

Tillman went on to a greater stage and so did many of the Iconoclasts. Galloway Harrison became the director of the Little

Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries (Picture Collection - 3678-2)
northwest corner of the Fayetteville square.

Rock Young Men's Christian Organization.[40] Joe Joiner, "the natural champion of the people," passed the Arkansas bar in 1914 and voters sent him to the Arkansas House of Representatives that same year.[41] Joiner served in the House from 1915-16 and 1919-22, and he served as speaker of the House from 1920-22.[42]

Voters in Lonoke County sent Claudius V. Holloway to the

Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries (MC 761)

"X-Ray. Square Deal. We Stick" is one of the messages that students included on placards that they carried to greet Gov. George W. Donaghey at the Fayetteville depot.

state House in 1917, where he served one term. He returned to the Legislature in 1935 as a state senator.[43] Roy G. Wood earned a law degree from Columbia University in New York, served as prosecuting attorney in Sebastian County and eventually served for many years as a circuit judge for Sebastian and Scott counties.[44] William Roy Penix also became a lawyer and voters sent him to the state House in 1927.[45] Penix later became mayor of Jonesboro while heading a successful law practice in that city. In 1955, his son, Bill, a civil rights attorney in his father's firm, worked to integrate the school district in Hoxie, Arkansas.

The X-Ray Incident is a significant but overlooked event in the history of the University of Arkansas. The episode is a symbol of Progressive thought early in the 20th century in Arkansas. The university has never experienced another full-scale student strike, even in the turbulent decades of the 1960s and 1970s. It seems Donaghey underestimated the magnitude of the occasion when he stepped off the train at the Frisco Depot on Dickson

Street. He looked over the crowd of hundreds of students who gathered to meet him, and said, "This was no boys' prank, this was a strike, a real strike."[46]

End Notes

1. Lowell Moss postcard addressed to Mr. E. E. Moss, February 29, 1912, Moss Family student papers, University of Arkansas Libraries Special Collections, Fayetteville.
2. T*he Gazette of Little Rock*, the state's largest paper, printed front-page articles on February 27, February 28, February 29, March 1, March 2, March 3, and March 4. The *Democrat* also published front-page articles throughout the week.
3. Reporter Pat Donat recounted the incident in August 1979 in the *Northwest Arkansas Times* of Fayetteville. Charlie Alison wrote a crisp account of the protest in the Spring 2007 issue of *Arkansas*, the university's alumni magazine.
4. *X-Ray*, February 24, 1912.
5. Ibid.
6. *X-Ray*, March 27, 1912.
7. University of Arkansas, *The Cardinal* (University of Arkansas, 1912), 28.
8. Sam Wood Jr., phone interview by author, November 17, 2009.
9. Ibid.
10. *Arkansas Gazette*, February 28, 1912.
11. Alexis Wade Schwitalla, compiler, *Who's Who in Little Rock, Nineteen Hundred and Twenty-One* (Little Rock, 1921), 81
12. Ibid, 44.
13. Ibid, 77.
14. Ibid, 77.
15. University of Arkansas, *The Cardinal* 1912, 26.
16. Ibid, 26.
17. Ibid, 29.
18. University of Arkansas, *The Cardinal* 1913, 17
19. University of Arkansas, *The Cardinal* 1912, 203
20. Lilbourn Hays Meriwether to R.W. Meriwether of Paragould, February 27, 1912, Lilbourn Hays Meriwether Letters. University of Arkansas Libraries Special Collections, Fayetteville.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. Meriwether to his father, February 27, 1912.
24. University of Arkansas, *The Cardinal* 1912, 214
25. *Arkansas Gazette*, February 28, 1912.
26. Both the *Gazette* and the *Fayetteville Democrat* noted female participation in the strike. In its February 28 article, the *Democrat* counted 150 girls in a parade from campus to the downtown opera house, "where speeches were made by both boys and girls."
27. *University Weekly*, May 10, 1912.

28. Ruth Simpson, "Miss Ruth Simpson Writes About Strike of Students at University," *The Daily Press*, February 29, 1912.
29. Ibid.
30. John Hugh Reynolds and David Yancey Thomas, *History of the University of Arkansas* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas, 1910), 484.
31. Ibid, 440.
32. Ibid, 443.
33. *X-Ray*, February 24, 1912.
34. University of Arkansas, *The Cardinal* 1913, 6.
35. Ibid, 7.
36. Myers, "Arkansas Progressivism: The Legislative Record," 24.
37. Charlie Alison, "Freedom of X-pression," 25.
38. Harrison Hale, *University of Arkansas 1871-1948* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Alumni Association 1948), 101.
39. Ibid, 102.
40. Schwitalla, *Who's Who in Little Rock*, 70
41. Herndon, *Centennial History of Arkansas*, 557
42. Arkansas Secretary of State, Historical Report of the Secretary of State 2008, (Little Rock and Fayetteville: Arkansas Secretary of State's Office and the University of Arkansas Press, 2008), 679
43. Ibid, 674.
44. Wood Jr., phone interview, November 17, 2009.
45. Arkansas Secretary of State, *Historical Report of the Secretary of State 2008*, 698
46. *X-Ray*, March 27, 1912.

From the *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, May 1, 1878:

Multiple News Items

Prof. George A. Vaughan, of Washington County, announces himself in to-day's paper as a candidate for Superintendent of Public Instruction. Prof. Vaughn is at present Principal of the Baptist Institute at Springdale, Washington County, one of the best Academies in the State. He is a teacher of long experience, a sound scholar and a man of irreproachable character. Should he be elected to the position, he will faithfully discharge all the duties incumbent upon him. He is a most worthy man.

Sixth Annual Lemke Prize Competition Open for Submissions

The Washington County Historical Society announces the sixth annual competition for the Walter J. Lemke Prize with a call for articles. Anyone interested in Washington County history, whether a professional or amateur historian, is encouraged to enter. Topics can be on any phase of Washington County's history or archeology, deal with an individual or institution connected with the county, and can address any time period.

The winning article will receive $300; Second prize receives $200. Both winners receive framed certificates. Winners will be recognized at the society's annual meeting.

Manuscripts will be judged on their contribution to the expansion of the county's history; the originality of the subject; and, the use of primary and secondary sources. The manuscripts must be original material, and not have been previously published; no more than 40 pages, typed, and double-spaced. Footnotes should be included on separate, double-spaced pages, although they do not count toward the 40-page limit. The title page should contain the heading "WALTER J. LEMKE ENTRY," the full title of the manuscript, the author's name, mailing address, telephone number, and e-mail address.

Entries become the property of the Washington County Historical Society and will not be returned to the author. All papers will be considered for publication in the *Flashback*. The historical society reserves the right to award one or no prizes.

Copies of all entries in the Lemke Prize will be deposited with the Special Collections Department at the University of Arkansas Libraries. Entries may be mailed to Lemke Prize, Washington County Historical Society, 118 E. Dickson Street, Fayetteville, AR 72701, or e-mailed to charlie.alison@gmail.com by June 30, 2013. If the entries are e-mailed, they should be either in the PDF or Microsoft Word format.

For additional information on the Walter J. Lemke Prize, please contact Charlie Alison at the above mailing address, at 575-6731 or at charlie.alison@gmail.com.

The Legend of Shelby's Great Raid

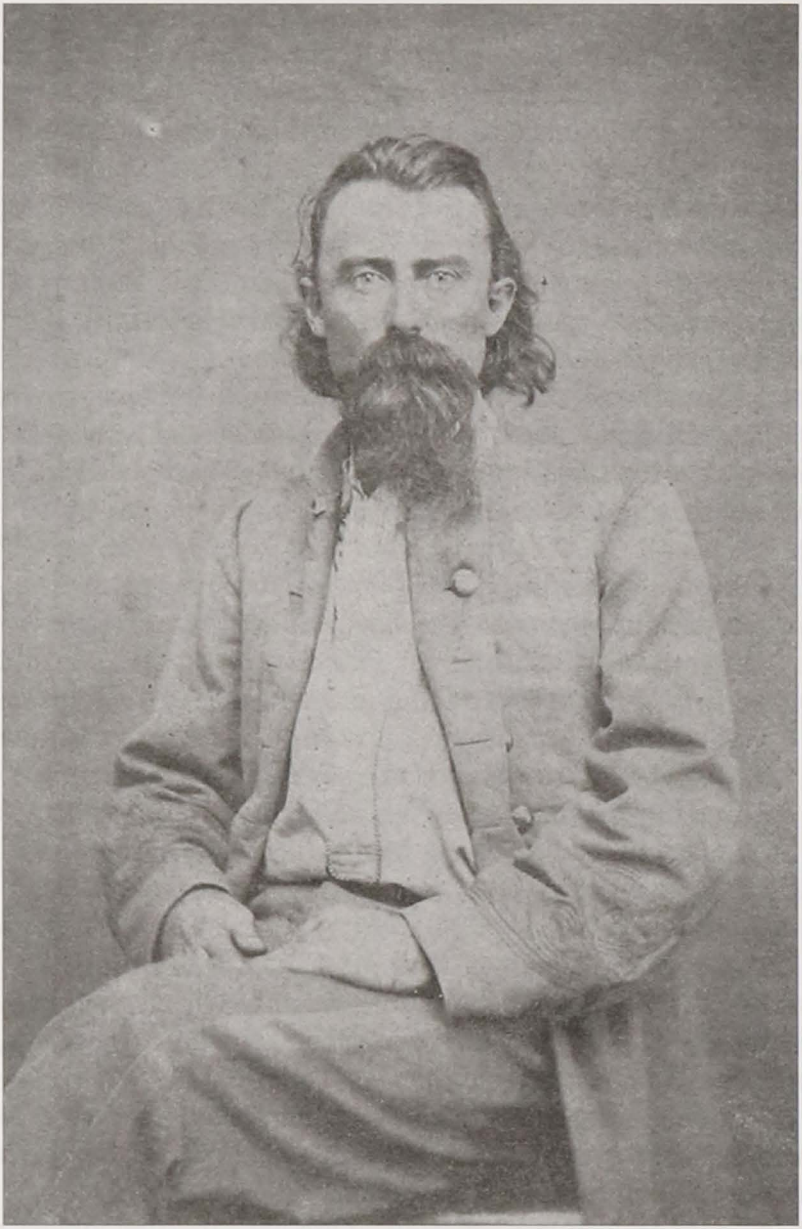
EDITOR'S NOTE: When Thomas B. Pryor wrote this article in 1963 amid the 100th anniversary of the Civil War, he was working on a Master of Arts in history at the University of Arkansas. With some updates, he submitted it to Flashback *for publication.*

By Thomas B. Pryor

> *"I don't know what you mean by 'glory,'" Alice said.*
>
> *Humpty Dumpty smiled contemptuously. "Of course you don't – till I tell you. I meant 'there's a nice knock-down argument for you!"*
>
> *"But 'glory' doesn't mean 'a nice knock-down argument,'" Alice objected.*
>
> *"When I use a word," Humpty Dumpty said, in rather a scornful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean – neither more nor less."*
>
> *"The question is," said Alice, "whether you can make words mean so many different things."*
>
> *"The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, "which is to be master – that's all."*
>
> *—Lewis Carroll*

Glory for Joseph O. Shelby meant what John N. Edwards, his adjutant, said. Usually it referred to a nice knock-down fight with Union forces in which Shelby defeated overwhelming odds. Edwards, however, was master - not only of the meaning of the grandiloquent prose he employed in Shelby's official records, but of the facts themselves.

The most Humpty Dumptyesque of Shelby's escapades, eulogized in Shelby's reports, his biography by Edwards, later ac-



Joseph Orville Shelby

counts by southern admirers, and even today in Wikipedia,[1] is Shelby's famous 41-day raid into Missouri in the Fall of 1863. This anabasis, culminating in the battle of Marshall, has gained in luster with each retelling, until Daniel O'Flaherty virtually equates it with Stonewall Jackson's brilliant Shenandoah Campaign.[2]

Fortunately for the glory of Shelby, those persons sufficiently interested to recount the raid were militantly pro-Shelby, including Shelby himself.[3] These writers almost without exception have accepted uncritically the self-serving descriptions of the "campaign" by Shelby and his devoted adjutant.[4] As Sean McLachlan observes, it was the "grandiose hyperbole" of Shelby's "chief propagandist" John Edwards that "was in large part responsible for creating Shelby's legend."[5] With characteristic immodesty, Edwards summarizes the raid as follows:

> [Shelby] leading 1,000 of his own trained soldiers, burst like a meteor into the heart of Missouri, dazzled St. Louis, terrified Jefferson City, took Boonville, eluded Brown, rode over Ewing, played with McNeil, and went away to Arkansas in his own good time . . . . True enough he lost many good men, but when it is remembered how he fought, how set upon, how imminent the dangers braved, it seems like a miracle that all were not overwhelmed and destroyed.[6]

True enough, having placed his head on the Union chopping block, Shelby was fortunate enough to withdraw it before the axe fell. And this, in short, constitutes the glory of "Shelby's Great Raid."

Why did Shelby undertake the risk? Was it worth the prospective benefits to be gained? Was it a success, as Shelby's adjutant and other admirers maintain?

In order to evaluate whether Shelby attained his objective, it is first essential to determine what that objective was. In the case of the Missouri raid, however, this was less than clear.

It will be recalled that Union forces under Generals Blunt and Steele had obtained control of Fort Smith and Little Rock in September, 1863. General Price had retreated with his Confederate forces to Camden and Arkadelphia, and the Arkansas River therefore divided the Union and Confederate forces within the state. Since they had no threatened positions of importance to hold, the Confederate generals were free to use their mounted troops to attack positions and lines of communication in the rear of the Federal army.[7]

At this time Colonel Shelby began to put pressure on Brigadier General John S. Marmaduke, his cavalry division commander, to permit him to command a brigade in a raid into the state of Missouri.[8] The ostensible reason was to damage Federal property and bring out of Missouri a large number of recruits, but there is probably merit in the suggestion by an admirer that Shelby was "anxious again to turn his face toward his ... home and meet his friends and family, and longing for the glory which he felt would come to the successful prosecution of such an expedition."[9] It is interesting to note that Shelby's home town, Waverly, more than 200 miles deep into Missouri, was the northernmost point reached in the raid.

A number of superior officers objected strenuously to the proposal on the ground that the raid was neither necessary nor desirable, considering Shelby a show-off and a fool headed for certain destruction.[10] Shelby prevailed, however, and on September 21 received orders from General Price to proceed with a small brigade into Missouri.[11]

By persisting in his design over the objection of others in command, Shelby placed his reputation and career as a Confederate officer on the line. Not only was he faced with the danger of being overwhelmed by superior Union forces, but were he to fail he would be an easy target for his opponents and detractors within the Confederate command. Hence, Shelby had to succeed - there was no face-saving alternative. That Shelby was able to elude both dangers makes him doubly blessed, if not doubly praiseworthy, but this was due more to the prose of his adjutant

than to his genius as a calvary officer.

Shelby embarked from Arkadelphia on September 22, 1863:

> The weather was propitious, and the glorious skies of a Southern autumn flashed cheerily down upon waving banners and glittering steel as we marched proudly by the white-haired chieftain, General Price, and his hearty benediction was solemnly prophetic of my entire success....

Shelby recites in his final report to his white-haired chieftain, Major General Sterling Price.[12]

By October 4 the rebel force of 1200 men had reached Neosho, Missouri, and from there proceeded North with skirmishes at various points, reaching Warsaw on October 7.[13]

> Thus far I had traveled ahead of all information, but now the telegraph flashed out its view-halloo, and the railroads groaned under the dire preparations to meet me, and the thunderer of St. Louis threatened vengeance as dark as death and terrible as the grave.[14]

It was true. By this time Shelby was some 350 miles deep into Union territory, and the Union commanders began to suspect that something was amiss. The citizens in central Missouri were thoroughly frightened of the rebel band roaming through the state, robbing and pillaging defenseless cities, shooting Union sympathizers, and tearing up telegraph lines and railroad track. Accordingly commands, countermands, orders, counter-orders, dispatches, reports and other "dire preparations" were made by the Northern forces to intercept Shelby.[15]

The preceding day, October 6, Brigadier General Egbert B. Brown, commander of Missouri volunteers, set out from Clinton with a force of 600 men marching due south to intercept Shelby. Shelby, however, passed Brown heading north some 20 miles to the east of Brown's route, neither force apparently aware of the

CLAY
RAY
CARROLL
Liberty
Waverly
SALINE
HOWARD
Lexington
Missouri River
Arrow Rock
Fayette
BOONE
Marshall
West Port
LAFAYETTE
Boonville
Columbia
Grand River
JACKSON
Brownsville
COOPER
Warrensburg
PETTIS
CASS
MONITEAU
Harrisonville
JOHNSON
Florence
Tipton
Jefferson City
Middle Big Creek
VERNON
Cole Camp
Versailles
COLE
Clinton
BENTON
MORGAN
BATES
Osage River
Warsaw
MILLER
ST. CLAIR
Osceola
CAMDEN
HICKORY
Nevada City
Niangua River
PULASKI
VERNON
Stockton
Humansville
CEDAR
DALLAS
LACLEDE
BARTON
Bolivar
DADE
POLK
Lamar
Greenfield
WRIGHT
JASPER
NEWTON
WEBSTER
LAWRENCE
Springfield
Carthage
CHRISTIAN
NEWTON
DOUGLAS
Neosho
BARRY
James River
TANEY
McDONALD
Cassville
White River
OZARK
MISSOURI
ARKANSAS
BENTON
Bentonville
Cross Hollows

other. Upon arriving at Osceola, Missouri, on October 8, Brown discovered that Shelby had passed through Warsaw, some 30 miles behind Brown, the previous day. He therefore executed a hasty counter-march in pursuit of the rebels through Warsaw, Cole Camp and Tipton to Boonville.[16] In the meantime, Brigadier General Thomas Ewing Jr., U.S. Army commander of the border district, was marching East from Harrisonville on the Kansas border with a force of 350 infantry and 500 to 600 cavalry.[17]

Shelby took Tipton, which was defended by a small detachment of Missouri militia, on October 10.[18] As he was preparing to depart that afternoon for Boonville, he reports:

> Just on the outskirts of Tipton I met Colonel [T. T.] Crittenden drawn up in splendid line with about 1,000 men, ready and willing to dispute my farther advance. I determined to crush him at a blow.[19]

Crittenden, however, was not disposed to dispute anything, because, as he reported, he was greatly outnumbered by the rebels. Permitting discretion to play the better part of valor, he fled.[20]

At Jefferson City, Crittenden was ordered to "embark without delay on steamboat Isabella, and proceed rapidly to Boonville; organize the citizens, and make all possible preparations for the defense of the town and Government property." He arrived on October 11 to find Boonville occupied by Shelby, so Crittenden landed across the river from Boonville and waited until the next day when he "conceived that the main body of the enemy had left town." He reported:

> Soon the waving of handkerchiefs by several ladies in Boonville (the purest of all patriots, when loyal) notified me that the enemy was gone.

He then triumphantly crossed the Missouri River into Boonville.[21]

The reason for Shelby's evacuation was that General Brown with 1,000 Missouri militia was hot on his trail, arriving at a point eight miles south of Boonville on the evening of October 11.[22]

> Meanwhile a great storm was gathering. General Brown, with 4,000 men, came up like a black cloud ... and was thundering in my rear with disappointed hate and malice.[23]

Shelby therefore evacuated Boonville on the morning of October 12 and headed for Marshall.[24] Brown, in hot pursuit, engaged Shelby at a point approximately nine miles southwest of Arrow Rock and about the same distance from Marshall, on the Salt Fork of the Lamine River.[25] Compare the following reports of what transpired. First, Shelby:

> Brown again charged my rear furiously, and I saw he must be checked then and there.... I had [Major G. P. Gordon with his regiment] dismount and ambush them.... The bait took completely.... A hot, close, deadly fire from rifles and revolvers left 50 dead on the spot, many wounded, and the rest routed and demoralized. Among those killed was a Federal colonel, supposed to be Col. Thomas [T.] Crittenden. This modified General Brown's desires somewhat from a vigorous pursuit, but toward night he ... made a furious attack. In twenty minutes I silenced their batteries, charged and drove them 3 miles, they leaving the ground covered with their killed and wounded.[26]

Edwards, writing in 1867 and having the benefit of the certitude that comes with lengthy reflection, is more precise. He recounts that 111 of Brown's "best men" were killed, 89 in the first ten minutes of fighting.[27] O'Flaherty dutifully quotes verbatim Shelby's account set forth above.[28]

Yet, General Brown, in a rather drab, colorless, factual report states that following the engagement:

> The men were ordered to rest on their arms, occupying the original battle-field during the night. The enemy lost 16 killed and a number wounded, one man of Thurber's battery killed, being the only casualty on our side.[29]

Furthermore, the reports of Crittenden's death were greatly exaggerated. Not only was he not killed, he was never even engaged. After entering Boonville, he set out in pursuit behind Brown. By the time he began to approach the enemy, however, it occurred to him that he was exceeding his orders, which were to protect Boonville:

> I then concluded, after having so far transcended my order in what I deemed a good cause, to return to Boonville.... I complied strictly with the ... order of General Schofield.[30]

Crittenden happily observes: "Strange, indeed, no lives were lost, no men or horses wounded."[31] Fortunately for the State of Missouri, since he later became its governor.[32]

The night of October 12 Brown was joined by additional troops, increasing his total strength to 1,600 men. At 3:00 a.m. on the 13th he sent Lieutenant Colonel B. F. Lazear with 1,020 of these men by a road to the left direct to Marshall. At daybreak Brown followed Shelby to the Arrow Rock and Marshall Road and thence toward Marshall.[33]

Lazear managed to occupy Marshall during the night, and he engaged Shelby on the road to the east of town the following morning.[34] This was the climax of Shelby's Great Raid.

Edwards recounts that when within two miles of Marshall Shelby's advance scout under W. W. Thorpe obtained information from a courier that a heavy body of Federals were forming in the front.

> "Charge them," was the laconic order. "But Colonel, they are four thousand strong," replied the heroic Thorpe, as he formed for the desperate attempt. "Ah, what," said Shelby, "four thousand devils - then we are in for it deeper than I expected."
>
> True enough ... could be seen four thousand Federals, of all arms, under General Ewing.
>
> In conjunction also with Ewing came General Brown from Jefferson City with four thousand additional troups in the rear, and when at last Shelby was brought to bay, eight thousand soldiers girt him round with walls of steel."[35]

Though not so picturesque, Shelby's official report is identical to the above regarding the number of troops under Brown and Ewing.[36] These figures are also accepted by Bennett H. Young in his account of the raid contained in Confererate Wizards of the Saddle.[37] O'Flaherty slavishly adopts Shelby's account with the bland misrepresentation:

> Since Shelby's official report differs in no particular important instance from that turned in by General Brown, it may be accepted as correct.[38]

In fact, General Ewing was not even on the field and never encountered Shelby at any time. He arrived at Sedalia, some twenty-five miles west of Tipton and thirty miles south of Marshall on October 12, two days after Shelby had evacuated the area. The following day while the battle of Marshall was being fought, Ewing milled around between Sedalia and Boonville commenting in his reports that "I can now whip Shelby with my command." But he never could find Shelby. He explains this in his report to General Schofield:

> General: I failed to cooperate with General Brown because I had to delay for information and make wrong moves on rumors....[39]

We therefore find Shelby at 8:00 a.m. on the morning of October 13, 1863, approximately one mile due east of Marshall, Missouri, facing Lieutenant Colonel Lazear with a force of 1,020 men and being pursued by General Brown with another 600. Shelby had 1,200 cavalrymen himself. Lazear occupied an advantageous position with his riflemen lying down on the ground on either side of the road in a "V" with its point toward Marshall.[40] Hence, Shelby was in a pocket with Lazear in front and on either side, and with General Brown bearing down on his rear. Having just crossed a bridge over a small stream on the Marshall and Arrow Rock road:

> Colonel Shelby then called up Major Shanks, commanding the rear battalion, and said to him very calmly but with the deliberate utterance of a man terribly in earnest: "Major, General Brown will be here in half an hour. How long can you hold this crossing with two hundred against four thousand?" "As long as you wish it, Colonel - an hour, a day, or a week." "Very well, I shall attack Ewing in front and endeavor to drive him from my path, but it is an uphill business, I fear. However, if it takes just two hundred men and yourself besides, never let go your hold on yonder stream until I order it; and, when you do come to me, come like the wind, for I shall be pressed to the wall before I cry for help."
>
> Shelby galloped to the front, after grasping this peerless officer's hand as one he never expected to see again.[41]

The battle "raged fiercely," but Shelby was unable to defeat the "4,000 Federals" under "General Ewing" before him. At 9:30 a.m. Brown arrived, and, according to Shelby, "for two mortal hours Shanks, with his 200 men, held Brown's 4,000 in check."[42] Brown reports, however, that finding the bridge and ford across the stream disputed by Shanks, he had three companies engage shanks while the main force crossed about three-fourths of a

mile below, attacking the rear detachment on its left flank, while the other three companies crossed the bridge and engaged them in the rear.[43]

Shanks was so hard pressed he was having great difficulty retreating. "Seeing Shanks cut off and Brown throwing his whole force between them," and knowing Shanks "could well take care of himself," Shelby determined to evacuate the area on an every-man-for-himself basis,

> ... believing that Shanks' indomitable pluck and sagacity would carry him through, and whether they did or not, Shelby was powerless to assist him, and even his own safety could not be entirely counted upon as certain, for great masses of cavalry came thundering after him, evidently bent on mischief.[44]

Accordingly, Shelby together with the bulk of his troops charged through the enemy lines to the right of the road. Shelby reports that "the Federals gave way in terror before the momentary shock."[45] This is apparently correct, as Lazear reports that Major William Gentry, together with his 200 men of the Fifth Provisional Regiment Enrolled Missouri Militia occupying this area, "fell back in confusion without firing a gun."[46] Gentry, however, discretely states in his report that he encountered Shelby, Shelby ran and he pursued, neglecting the detail that when Shelby ran, it was squarely over Gentry and his men.[47]

In any event, Shelby's brigade was scattered into a number of different groups, each retreating toward the Arkansas border. Shelby himself passed through Waverly, his home town, at 3:00 a.m. on the morning of October 14, but the pursuit did not admit of any extended felicitations. He then turned due South.[48]

All authorities agree that Shelby's retreat was not leisurely. Edwards, in perhaps the only understatement contained in his book, says:

> When Shelby once made up his mind to retreat, he did it with his usual skill and rapidity.[49]

The Union reports characterize it as more rapid than skillful:

> Colonel Phillips dispatches that the enemy is running like wild hogs. ... [50]
>
> * * *
>
> The enemy's trail bore evidence of panic. It was strewn with hats, clothes, plunder, etc. He made no halt for the night .... The enemy had traveled with him. such unremitting energy, and so much celerity, as to outstrip all efforts to head him off.[51]

Shelby was forced to abandon the brass six-pounder which he had been carrying with him:

> Owing to the almost unparalleled rapidity of the retreat, rendered necessary by the vast number of Federals after us and before us, and all around us, it was impossible to keep the gun up, and more than impossible to follow with it the devious and zigzag march of the cavalry .... [52]

General Ewing, who it will be recalled was wandering around in the vicinity of Sedalia during the conflict at Marshall, attempted to head off Shelby's retreat at Warrensburg, but he arrived three hours late.[53] He attempted to overtake Shelby, and the following is an example of the reports dispatched by him, this one having been sent on October 18 from Carthage, Missouri:

> General: After a march of 76 miles in twenty-four hours, I reached here at daylight, expecting to encounter Shelby's whole command. He passed through here, however, last night for Neosho .... [54]

Brigadier General John McNeil, commander of volunteers at Buffalo, Missouri, also took up the pursuit.[55] There were a few minor skirmishes, but Shelby and the remainder of his force (in-

cluding Shanks, who managed to escape by another route) returned safely across the Arkansas River.[56]

It is interesting to compare the losses reported during the raid by the various parties involved. Shelby claims to have killed and wounded 600 Federals, captured and paroled 500, captured 10 forts, destroyed $800,000.00 worth of railroad property, taken 600 guns, 40 stand of colors, 600 revolvers, 300 wagons and 6,000 horses and mules.[57] This later was amplified by his adjutant to 3,000 Federals killed, wounded or captured, 3,000 "splendid Sharpe's rifles" and more than 3,000 revolvers distributed among the men. "This much is a plain, unvarnished statement of naked facts," comments Edwards.[58]

According to Brown, however:

> The loss on our side was 5 killed, 26 wounded, and 11 missing and captured .... We had 17 horses killed, 34 wounded, and 61 broken down and abandoned on the march .... The enemy captured from us ... 12 mules.[59]

Shelby says that his own killed and wounded did not exceed 150.[60] Brown recites that at Marshall the rebels lost 53 dead and 98 seriously wounded, and while it was not possible to determine the exact total loss of the enemy in the entire raid because of the extended area of thickly wooded country, he estimated this to be over 400 men.[61]

In addition, Shelby claims to have kept 10,000 men from being sent to reenforce Rosecrans in Tennessee.[62] This appears to have been an afterthought, as there is nothing to indicate that this purpose was contemplated by Shelby or his superiors prior to the raid. On September 14, 1863 General Schofield, commander of the Department of the Missouri, laments that Missouri manpower available to deal with bushwhackers "have been reduced by re-enforcements sent to Generals Grant, Rosecrans, Steele, and Blunt," but this was one week prior to General Price's September 21, 1863 order authorizing Shelby's raid and well before Shelby crossed into Missouri.[63] Nor is there anything

(other than the claim in Shelby's report) to suggest that Shelby's subsequent raid produced a further reduction, or, indeed, that the Department of the Missouri had additional troops to send; and, with available troops already reduced for the purpose of pacifying an expanded area including Arkansas and the Indian territory, it had good reasons quite apart from Shelby's raid to retain them for its own purposes.[64]

Shelby's claim to have gained 800 recruits[65] is heatedly disputed by one of his own comrades in arms. Indeed, in a letter dated November 6, 1863, to President Jefferson Davis, Colonel C. E. Franklin of the Provisional Army of the Confederate States of America, stationed at Camp Bragg, Arkansas, argued forcefully that Shelby's raid produced a negative result for the Confederate cause:

> When Jo Shelby, or any of the old jayhawking captains, makes a raid into Missouri, he and all his followers adopt the pirates' law of property. Mankind are considered but objects of prey, and, astonishing and painful as the knowledge must be, they rob indiscriminately friend and foe. If such work is not soon arrested, it may be continued indefinitely, for not a friend will be left in all that country to be ruined. Shelby boasts that on the last raid he completely "gutted Boonville:" also that many Southern families, hearing of his approach, had removed their goods out of doors, expecting him to burn their houses. In fact, sir, the Shelby-Marmaduke raids in that country have transferred to the Confederate uniform all the dread and terror which used to attach to the Lincoln blue. The last horse was taken from the widow and orphan, whose husband and father has fallen in the country's service. No respect is shown to age, sex or condition. Women are insulted and abused ....
>
> In the last Shelby raid, which extended to the Missouri River, not one recruit was added to the list from

> the State of Missouri, which can be attributed to nothing but the bad conduct of this army, under its present commander.[66]

The emphasis in the preceding paragraph was supplied by Franklin. On January 19, 1864, Jefferson Davis requested an inquiry into the matters raised by Franklin,[67] but official records do not reflect whether anything further was done. The above "plain, unvarnished statement of naked facts," as Shelby's biographer John Edwards might say, does indeed compel the conclusion that Shelby's raid was a success in the following particulars: (1) It produced some of the most imaginative, creative, grandiloquent fiction written during the Civil War. (2) This in turn preserved the glory of Colonel Joseph O. Shelby from the carping and unsympathetic criticism of such persons as Colonel Franklin and those who from the beginning opposed the raid. And (3), it was a personal success for Shelby, as he was shortly thereafter promoted to brigadier general.[68]

Whether the raid was of any value to the Confederate cause, however, is open to question.

END NOTES

1. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shelby%27s_Raid_%281863%29
2. Daniel O'Flaherty, *General Jo Shelby, Undefeated Rebel* (Chapel Hill, 1954), pp 189-207.
3. In addition to O'Flaherty, these include: Edwards, John N., *Shelby and His Men*, (Cincinnati, 1867); Young, Bennett H., *Confederate Wizards of the Saddle* (Boston, 1914), Chapter IX, p. 195. See Also Shelby's official reports, *War of the Rebellion: Official Records* (Washington, 1888), Series I, Volume XXII, Part I, pp. 670-678. *The War of the Rebellion Records* may be accessed online at the following web address: http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/m/moawar/waro_fulltext.html . A very brief account of the raid is contained in *Confederate Military History*, Volume X, Chapter IX, p. 224. See also the Wikipedia accounts appearing at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joseph_O._Shelby and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shelby%27s_Raid_%281863%29. Though congenial to some of Shelby's extravagant claims, the recently published account of the raid by Sean McLachlan entitled *Ride Around Missouri: Shelby's Great Raid 1863*, (Osprey Publishing, Oxford, UK, 2011) is more balanced than earlier accounts and a good read.
4. Compare, however, the resume by Wiley Britton in Battles and Leaders of the Civil

War, Volume IV, pp. 374-75, which, though pro-Union, is much more objective.

5. McLachlan, p. 19.
6. Edwards, p. 238.
7. Britton, p. 374.
8. O'Flaherty, p. 190.
9. Young, p. 204.
10. Edwards, p. 238; O'Flaherty, p. 190.
11. *War of the Rebellion: Official Records* (Washington, 1888), Series I, Volume XXII, Part I, p. 670. Hereafter referred to as Records.
12. *Records*, p. 671.
13. *Records*, pp. 671-672. According to several Union reports Shelby was joined by Quantrill, Jackman and other guerrilla leaders, increasing the size of his force to 2,000. Records, p. 16. Shelby does not mention this in his reports, however, and I have given him the benefit of the doubt by accepting his figure of 1200 men.
14. *Records*, p. 673.
15. See generally the Union reports contained in Records, pp. 621-670. These read like the dispatches of the detectives attempting to apprehend *The Stolen White Elephant* in Mark Twain's classic short story by that name.
16. *Records*, p. 626.
17. *Records*, pp. 662-664.
18. *Records*, p. 673.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Records*, p. 644.
21. *Records*, pp. 645-646.
22. *Records*, pp. 626-627..
23. *Records*, p. 674.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Records*, p. 627
26. *Records*, p. 675
27. Edwards, pp. 215-217.
28. O'Flaherty, p. 201.
29. *Records*, p. 627.
30. *Records*, pp. 645-646.
31. *Records*, p. 645.
32. According to O'Flaherty, p. 198, Crittenden had been a guest at Shelby's wedding.
33. *Records*, p. 627. Brown gives Lazear's force as 1,000, but Lazear puts it at 1,020. Records, p. 631.
34. *Records*, pp. 631-632.
35. Edwards, pp. 217-218.
36. *Records*, p. 675.
37. Op. Cit., pp. 215-216.
38. O'Flaherty, p. 202. W. Frances English, of the University of Missouri, reviewing O'Flaherty's book in the *American Historical Review*, Volume LX, p. 195, observes that while the book is attractively written and holds the attention of the reader, it is not based on careful research and instead relies upon secondary sources where good primary sources are available. English cites many instances of doubtful interpretation, insufficient research, and errors on geography, military and political events.

39. *Records*, pp. 662-664.
40. *Records*, pp. 631-632.
41. Edwards, p. 218.
42. *Records*, p. 675.
43. *Records*, p. 627.
44. Edwards, pp. 221-222.
45. *Records*, p. 676
46. *Records*, p. 631
47. *Records*, p. 637
48. *Records*, p. 676.
49. Edwards, p. 222.
50. *Records*, p. 625.
51. *Records*, p. 641
52. *Records*, p. 677.
53. *Records*, p. 662.
54. *Records*, p. 663.
55. *Records*, pp. 648-652.
56. *Records*, p. 677.
57. *Records*, p. 678.
58. Edwards, pp. 237-238.
59. *Records*, 628.
60. *Records*, p. 678.
61. *Records*, pp. 624-625.
62. *Records*, p. 678.
63. *Records*, p. 575. Indeed, Kansas bushwhackers such as Quantrill and Jackman produced a continuing threat so severe that the Department of the Missouri elected to depopulate several of the border counties. *Records*, pp. 572-576.
64. See Schofield's report of operations May 24 - December 10, 1863. *Records*, pp. 15-17. McLachlan at page 69 in *Ride Around Missouri* adopts the claim of earlier, less meticulous, Shelby admirers that the failure of the Department of the Missouri to supply reinforcements for the Chickamauga campaign "was the direct result and intention of Shelby's raid," but I found no evidence other than Shelby's self-serving assertions after the fact that this was Shelby's original intention or that his raid produced this result, and the facts discussed above indicate otherwise.
65. *Records*, p. 678.
66. *War of the Rebellion: Official Records* (Washington, 1888), Series I, Volume XXII, Part II, pp. 1058-1059.
67. *Ibid*, p. 1060.
68. O'Flaherty, p. 209.

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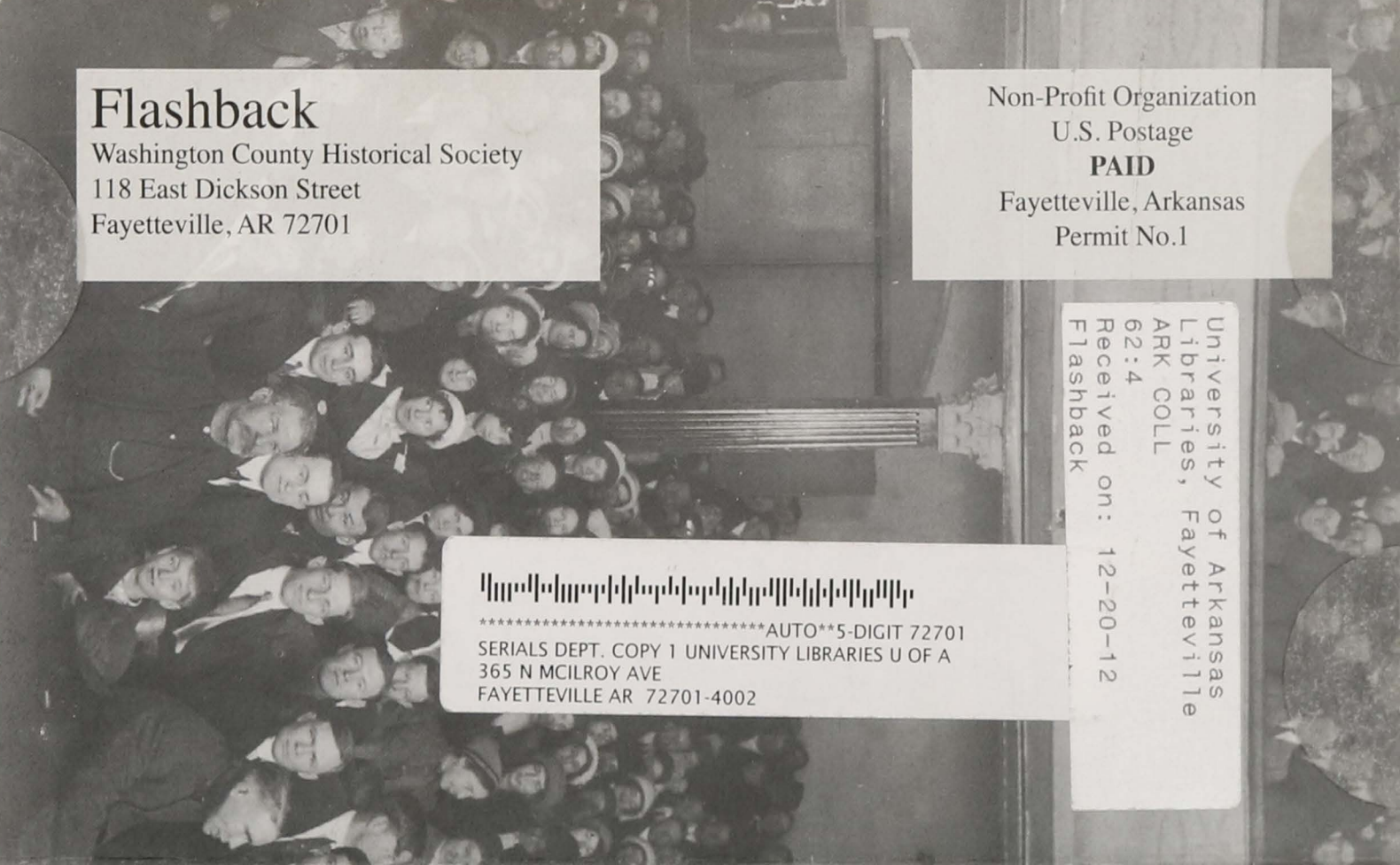

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